

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 TOKYO 03699 01 OF 02 290526 Z

12

ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 AID-20 IGA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09

H-02 INR-09 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01

SS-14 USIA-12 EB-11 TRSE-00 OMB-01 IO-12 EUR-25 RSR-01

/151 W

----- 049871

R 290348 Z MAR 73

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2670

INFO AMEMBASSY SAIGON

USDEL JEC PARIS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 3699

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EAID JA VN

SUBJ: GOJ AID TO INDOCHINA

REF: A. STATE 004288; B. TOKYO 0713

SUMMARY: EMBASSY HAS JUST CONCLUDED ANALYSIS OF GOJ POSITION ON AID TO INDOCHINA. EMBASSY STRONGLY BELIEVES THAT WHILE SITUATION UNCLEAR AND SUBJECT TO CHANGE, IF USG EXPECTS SUBSTANTIAL AID CONTRIBUTION ON PART OF GOJ TO SOUTH VIETNAM, THEN DISCUSSIONS ON AID TO INDOCHINA SHOULD BEGIN NOW WITH GOJ. GOJ WOULD PREFER THAT AID TO INDOCHINESE STATES, ASIDE FROM RELIEF AID, BE EXTENDED THROUGH MULTI-LATERAL FRAMEWORK, THE ORGANIZATION OF WHICH WOULD BE A TIME- CONSUMING PROCESS. IT HAS ALSO STATED WILLINGNESS CONSIDER BILATERAL AID TO NVN IN VIEW NVN'S POSITION. IN ORDER TO PREPARE FOR POSSIBLE SVN AID REQUIREMENTS, EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT USG SHOULD INITIATE CONSULTATIONS BY INFORMING GOJ OF OUR THINKING ON RECONSTRUCTION OF VIETNAM AND OF OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH NVN IN THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMISSION. END SUMMARY.

1. INTRODUCTION. REFTEL A RECEIVED AS EMBASSY HAS JUST
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 TOKYO 03699 01 OF 02 290526 Z

CONCLUDED ANALYSIS GOJ POSITION ON AID TO INDOCHINESE STATES WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO SOUTH VIETNAM AND NORTH VIETNAM. EMBASSY STRESSES THAT FOLLOWING VIEWS ARE LARGELY IMPRESSIONISTIC. EMBASSY HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO ENGAGE GOJ IN DETAILED DISCUSSIONS IN LIGHT OF OUR INABILITY TO PROVIDE THEM WITH INFORMATION THEY SEEK ON USG ATTITUDES ON AID TO INDOCHINA. VIEWS, BASED ON ANALYSIS OF PAST GOJ AID ACTIVITIES IN INDOCHINESE STATES, INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS WITH FONOFF OFFICIALS, AND OFFICIALS' COMMENTS ON GOVERNMENT STATEMENTS MADE DURING CURRENT DIET SESSION, ARE SUBJECT TO REVISION SINCE SITUATION IS COMPLEX AND UNCLEAR. FOR EXAMPLE, FORMIN OHIRA TOLD AMBASSADOR OVER WEEKEND THAT GOJ HAD DONE LITTLE PLANNING ON AID TO INDOCHINA BUT ANTICIPATED SOME CLARIFICATION FOLLOWING RETURN OF FONOFF MISSION TO HANOI.

2. ELEMENTS IN GOJ ATTITUDE TOWARD AID TO INDOCHINA. GOJ VIEWS ON AID TO INDOCHINESE STATES HAVE BEEN MODIFIED AND HAVE ADVANCED CAUTIOUSLY SINCE EARLY THIS YEAR. BASIC ELEMENTS REMAIN LARGELY AS STATED AT THAT TIME. GOJ THEN EXPRESSED ITS WILLINGNESS TO HOST CONFERENCE ON AND TO MAKE SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION IN INDOCHINA. IT ENVISAGED AID NEED AS COMPOSED OF THREE ELEMENTS.

A. RELIEF AID. GOJ WILLING TO EXTEND ON BILATERAL BASIS IMMEDIATE RELIEF AID TO ALL INDOCHINESE STATES.

B. BALANCE OF PAYMENTS OR STABILIZATION AID. GOJ WOULD EXTEND THROUGH MULTILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS.

C. DEVELOPMENT AID. GOJ WOULD EXTEND THROUGH MULTILATERAL ARRANGEMENT.

3. GOJ COMMITMENTS TO AID TO INDOCHINA. IN CONCRETE FASHION, GOJ HAS BEGUN TO MAKE FINANCIAL COMMITMENTS FOR RELIEF AID TO INDOCHINESE STATES THROUGH MULTILATERAL CHANNELS. FIFTY MILLION DOLLAR COMMITMENT MADE IN PRINCIPLE CONFIDENTIALLY TO UN SYG WALDHEIM FOR UN RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM (SCALI- WALDHEIM MEMCON OF 2/20), PRESUMABLY CONTINGENT ON VIABLE UN PROGRAM. CASH CONTRIBUTION OF \$2 MILLION GIVEN TO INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS FOR USE THROUGHOUT INDOCHINA (TOKYO 3009).

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 TOKYO 03699 01 OF 02 290526 Z

4. QUESTION OF UNTIED AID TO INDOCHINA. PRIME MINISTER IN MID- MARCH STATED IN DIET THAT GOJ AID TO INDOCHINA WOULD BE UNTIED. EMBASSY HAS INQUIRED OF FONOFF AS TO PRECISE DEFINITION OF PM' S STATEMENT, BUT SOURCES COULD NOT GIVE UNEQUIVOCAL ANSWER, INDICATING MATTER NOT YET STAFFED OUT.

5. NORTH VIETNAM. DURING DIET SESSION, ATTENTION HAS BEEN FOCUSED BY OPPOSITION PARTIES PRIMARILY ON QUESTION OF AID TO NVN. FONMIN, ANSWERING IN POSITIVE THOUGH NON- COMMITTAL FASHION, HAS INDICATED GOJ WILLING CONSIDER BILATERAL AID IN VIEW NVN POSITION. REFERENCES HAVE ALSO BEEN MADE TO POSSIBLE COMPLICATIONS IN COMMITTING AID TO NVN, FOR EXAMPLE, THE QUESTIONS OF DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION AS A PREREQUISITE FOR LOANS AND THE POSSIBLE DEMAND FROM NVN OF WORLD WAR II REPARATIONS WHICH GOJ VIEWS AS ALREADY SETTLED WITH SVN. THESE MATTERS, IT IS SAID, WILL BE EXPLORED WITH HANOI BY MIYAKE, HEAD, FIRST SEA DIVISION, FONOFF DURING HIS FORTHCOMING VISIT (TOKYO 3107). NVN, HOWEVER, HAS NOT YET SUGGESTED DATE FOR VISIT.

6. SOUTH VIETNAM. AID TO SOUTH VIETNAM HAS NOT BEEN TOUCHED ON TO SAME EXTENT IN DIET OR IN PRESS, AND PRESUMABLY WILL BE GOVERNED BY GOJ' S OUTLOOK AS STATED PARA TWO. KIKUCHI, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR- GENERAL, ECONOMIC COOPERATION BUREAU, FONOFF TOLD E/ MIN, THAT HE PERSONALLY DID NOT BELIEVE GOJ' S INABILITY TO EXTEND AID TO NORTH VIETNAM WOULD INHIBIT GOJ' S PARTICIPATION IN A MULTILATERAL GROUP WHICH WOULD EXTEND AID TO SOUTH VIETNAM. HE BELIEVED GOJ' S DOMESTIC POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES WOULD HAVE BEEN MET BY ITS PUBLIC OFFER OF AID TO NORTH VIETNAM. POSSIBLE ADDITIONAL COMPLICATION HAS ARISEN IN PAST FEW DAYS WITH OPPOSITION QUERIES IN DIET CONCERNING GOJ ATTITUDES TOWARD PRG. SO FAR, GOVERNMENT HAS HELD TO FIRM POLICY REFUSING OFFICIAL, CONTACTS WITH OR RECOGNITION OF PRG REPRESENTATIVES, BUT ISSUE MIGHT INHIBIT GOJ EFFORTS TO MOVE AHEAD ON AID PROGRAMS.

SECRET

ADP000
SECRET

PAGE 01 TOKYO 03699 02 OF 02 290537 Z

12
ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-09 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14 USIA-12

AID-20 IGA-02 EB-11 TRSE-00 OMB-01 IO-12 EUR-25 RSR-01

/151 W

----- 049893

R 290348 Z MAR 73
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2671
INFO AMEMBASSY SAIGON
USDEL JEC PARIS

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 3699

7. SOUTH VIETNAM. EMBASSY EVALUATION DIFFERENT MODALITIES
GOJ AID MAY TAKE FOLLOWS.

A. EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT BASED ON PAST EXPERIENCE,
RELIEF AID WOULD BE EASIEST FORM OF AID FOR GOJ TO EXTEND.
EMBASSYUOTES, HOWEVER, THAT TWO COMMITMENTS SO FAR (PARA
THREE) HAVE BEEN IN MULTILATERAL CONTEXT. EMBASSY ALSO
NOTES THAT COMMITMENT TO RED CROSS MADE IN TERMS THAT AID
SHOULD BE SPENT IN " EVEN- HANDED" FASHION BETWEEN SVN AND NVN.

B. IN RESPECT B/ P OR STABILIZATION AID, IT IS PRECISELY
THIS CATEGORY OF AID WHICH IN PAST GOJ MOST UNWILLING TO
EXTEND TO INDOCHINESE STATES ON BILATERAL RPT BILATERAL BASIS SINCE
IT COULD BE PORTRAYED AS A FORM OF SUPPORT FOR WAR EFFORT. IN
ADDITION, JAPANESE POLITICAL OPPOSITION AND PRESS, WHO ARE HOSTILE TO
AID OF ALMOST ANY SORT TO SVN, WOULD QUICKLY ATTACK GOVERN-
MENT. HOWEVER, GOJ HAS BEEN WILLING TO EXTEND THIS TYPE OF
AID TO FORM CASH GRANT WITHIN MULTILATERAL FRAMEWORK INVOLV-
ING PARTICIPATION OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTION (IFI),
FOR EXAMPLE, FEOF IN LAOS AND ESF IN KHMER REPUBLIC. COMMOD-
ITY AID, THE EMBASSY BELIEVES, WOULD ALSO BE REGARDED IN THIS
LIGHT. IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT GOJ POSITION WILL
CHANGE UNTIL PEACE AND STABILITY MORE CLEARLY ESTABLISHED
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 TOKYO 03699 02 OF 02 290537 Z

IN SVN. ESSENCE OF MATTER, AS EMBASSY SEES IT, IS THAT IF USG
WISHES MAXIMUM GOJ CONTRIBUTION, IOPWILL ZVE TO BE UNDER
MULTILATERAL FRAMEWORK WHICH WOULD TAKE CONSIDERABLE TIME
TO ESTABLISH. IN THIS CONNECTION, KIKUCHI TOLD E/ MIN THAT
FONOFF BELIEVES SVN WILL BE IN CONSIDERABLE NEED OF B/ P
ASSISTANCE BUT THAT GOJ POSITION IS THAT THIS SHOULD BE
PRINCIPAL RESPONSIBILITY OF USG.

C. AS FOR DEVELOPMENT AID, IT APPEARS THAT NEW RPT
NEW DEVELOPMENT AID MORE LIKELY BE CONSIDERED WITHIN MULTI-
LATERAL GROUP. FONOFF SOURCE, HOWEVER, HAS INDICATED THAT

UNDER APPROPRIATE CONDITIONS, GOJ WOULD ON BILATERAL BASIS BE WILLING TO RESUME COMMITMENTS OF ABE MISSION PROJECTS WHICH WERE SUSPENDED IN FEBRUARY 1972 AS RESULT OF NVN INVASION. OF TOTAL VALUE OF SIX ABE MISSION PROJECTS, \$51 MILLION, \$25 MILLION HAD BEEN COMMITTED AS OF FEBRUARY 1972.

8. SOUTH VIETNAM. TO SUM UP GOJ POSITION ON AID TO SVN, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT A REALISTIC ESTIMATE OF GOJ AID COMMITMENTS TO SVN THIS YEAR CAN BE MADE AT THIS TIME IN LIGHT OF THE FLUID INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AFFECTING VIETNAM. EMBASSY ALSO BELIEVES THAT GOJ WOULD BE MOST RELUCTANT TO EXTEND NEW COMMITMENTS OF BILATERAL RPT BILATERAL AID TO SVN AT THIS TIME. MAXIMUM GOJ CONTRIBUTION WOULD BE OBTAINED UNDER MULTILATERAL FRAMEWORK WITH PARTICIPATION IFI. GOJ'S THINKING ON ORGANIZATION OF AID TO INDOCHINESE STATES IN PAST FOCUSED ON QUESTION OF REGIONAL GROUP VERSUS COUNTRY GROUP BUT WITHOUT ANY CLEAR PREFERENCE. WE DOUBT THAT IT HAS ADVANCED BEYOND THAT STAGE, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT NVN'S POSITION THAT AID MUST BE BILATERAL.

9. RECOMMENDATION. EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT BEST WAY TO ENGAGE GOJ IN QUESTION OF AID TO SVN IS TO BEGIN SOONEST TO CONSULT WITH AND INFORM GOJ IN GREATER DETAIL ON AID MATTERS RELATING TO INDOCHINA, PARTICULARLY IF WE WISH TO INFLUENCE ITS DECISIONS RESPECTING SVN AND NVN. INFORMAL EMBASSY CONTACTS WITH FONOFF OFFICIALS INDICATE THAT THEY CONTINUE TO HAVE KEEN INTEREST IN USG THINKING ON AID TO INDOCHINA AS IT MIGHT AFFECT GOJ PROGRAM. EMBASSY WILL CONTINUE TO PROBE FOR ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED IN REFTEL A, PARA FOUR. IF MORE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS AUTHORIZED, GOJ RESPONSES SHOULD BEGIN TO EMERGE MORE CLEARLY.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 TOKYO 03699 02 OF 02 290537 Z

10. ACTION REQUESTED. IN ORDER TO INITIATE EFFECTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH GOJ ON AID TO SVN, EMBASSY STRONGLY RECOMMENDS THAT :

A. EMBASSY BE BRIEFED ON USG THINKING ON AID FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF INDOCHINA, IN PARTICULAR VIETNAM, AND BE AUTHORIZED TO DISCUSS WITH FONOFF;

B. EMBASSY RECOMMENDS THAT EMBASSY BE INFORMED AND AUTHORIZED TO BRIEF GOJ ON CURRENT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN USG AND NVN IN JOINT ECONOMIC COMMISSION. (EMBASSY UNDERSTAND KIKUCHI SOUGHT OUT WILLIAMS IN PARIS LAST WEEK WHEN FORMER WAS THERE FOR PAKISTAN DEBT MEETING TO RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH NVN.)
INGERSOLL

SECRET

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification *** SECRET

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts:
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 MAR 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: morefirh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973TOKYO03699
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: RR
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: TOKYO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730344/aaaaitgs.tel
Line Count: 280
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EAP
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: A.STATE 004288, B.TOKYO 0713
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: morefirh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <16-Aug-2001 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <16-Nov-2001 by morefirh>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> wfs 980126
Subject: GOJ AID TO INDOCHINA
TAGS: EAID, JA, VM
To: EA
JEC PARIS
SAIGON
SECSTATE WASHDC
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005